

the 10th amendment to the Constitution—"the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people." Those words should not be treated lightly. The goal of the 10th amendment was to limit the powers of the Federal Government. Could we have moved any farther away from the intent of the 10th amendment than with unfunded mandates? We should be searching for ways to return control to the States and local governments. But when we must use our power to write laws that will force State action, we most certainly should pay for it.

The Unfunded Mandates Reform Act is the first important step toward reevaluating what Congress should do. It will put us in a position to reconsider the value of some of the dictates that have been passed onto State and local governments already. Maybe it is a good idea for Sheriff Berry of Oconee County, GA, to have to devote one of his few officers to stake out convenience stores in an effort to stop youngsters from buying cigarettes. Maybe Columbia County, GA, should have to meet such rigorous standards in their landfill that it makes the cost per acre go up by 1,000 percent. Maybe these unfunded mandates are good for the people, but can they afford all of our good ideas? But when the sheriff has to cut back patrols in certain areas of his county to meet a Federal mandate, or local property taxes go up to pay for landfill improvements because of a Federal mandate, do we not have a responsibility for our actions?

The bottom line is that one word—responsibility. Mr. Speaker, the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act will make Congress take responsibility for its actions. If we see fit to force the States to act, then we must bear the responsibility of paying for that action. This act forces Congress to make the hard choices that have been too easily avoided. This act will provide much needed relief to State and local governments. I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 5, the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act, and return responsibility to Congress.

#### INTRODUCING A FAIR BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WISE] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, by the end of this week we will have under consideration a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. That is fine. West Virginia has a balanced budget requirement, as do most of the States in the Union. I myself have introduced a proposal for a balanced budget amendment.

Mr. Speaker, however, before the House undertakes that, and particularly before it begins debate on some-

thing so serious, it should definitely spell out, though, exactly how it intends to make the cuts to balance the budget, because that is the concern many of us have, and indeed, many West Virginians have contacted me about. Yes, the idea of a balanced budget within 7 years is an excellent proposal. It sounds good, looks good on a bumper sticker, but how do you actually propose to balance the budget? What is it that gets cut? Do you cut Social Security? "Oh, no," recoil many in horror, "Oh, no." Well, if you are not going to cut that, do you cut Medicare? What health care do you cut? What education programs? Is it Head Start? Is it WIC? Is it the defense budget? What is it that gets cut by the roughly \$700 billion that is estimated to balance the budget by the year 2002?

West Virginians alike tell me "We don't buy a pig in a poke." By the same token, if we go and we are looking to buy a house, we ask details about the mortgage: What are the interest payments going to be over the next 7, 10, 20 years? Does anyone walk on a car lot and say "Just give me any car off the lot; don't show me the invoice, don't show me the payment terms"?

Does anyone go and authorize major work to be done to their house by a contractor without having it spelled out in advance before you start what it is you hope to do? You set the goal: "I want the house painted, or I want the furnace put in," but don't you also ask how you are going to get there and how much it is going to cost?

So before signing off on a balanced budget amendment, I would hope that all of us in the public and the Congress alike would say "how are you going to get there?" We have asked the Republican leaders bringing this to the floor for their budget, for their 7-year proposal of how you balance the budget. Don't just put it in the Constitution, write out how you get it, what it is that gets cut, what programs get rearranged. So far we are waiting to see that.

I myself have introduced a balanced budget amendment, Mr. Speaker. Mine is a little different than some of the others, but it has much the same goal, to require a balanced budget by the year 2002. It does several things. First of all, it takes Social Security off budget. It cannot be considered. It is gone. Everyone says they want to protect Social Security. Fine. Adopt my amendment and you will protect Social Security. It has self-generating funds that are paid by every employee in this country. It runs a surplus. Social Security does not need to be in the budget process.

The second thing my amendment does is it encourages investment. My concern about many of the balanced budget requirements is that they will encourage, they will reward cuts in vital programs, like highway construction, water and sewer construction, airports, infrastructure, that make us stronger economically, not weaker.

Therefore, what my amendment does is to permit capital budgeting and permits you to treat the cost of physical infrastructure like roads and bridges differently than you do other expenditures.

Is that something new or novel? No, Mr. Speaker, every State has some form of capital budgeting along these lines. Every homeowner knows that you pay for your house on a mortgage and that the debt service is what is figured in your budget, not the actual cost of the house. Everybody knows that when they buy a car they buy it on a payment plan and they spread that cost out over the life of the car. That is all that my amendment does.

What my balanced budget amendment to the Constitution would do, which I hope will be made in order to be considered this week, is it will take Social Security off budget and it will encourage investment by permitting capital budgeting.

What we are asking, Mr. Speaker, is that as the House moves toward a balanced budget discussion this week, that if it is going to bring up the balanced budget amendment, that first of all we be honest with the American people and we tell the people where we are going to make the cuts and how deep those cuts are going to be.

Second, we say that we take Social Security off budget, because it does not have any business being involved in the overall budgeting of the Federal Government, since it has already been paid for and there is a surplus.

Third, Mr. Speaker, that the balanced budget amendment encourage investment, not discourage it; that we put in the balanced budget amendment those things that will make the economy grow, not shrink. That is what a fair balanced budget amendment needs if it is to be considered this week.

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#### SUPPORT CONTRACT WITH AMERICA'S BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CAMP). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CHRISTENSEN] is recognized during morning business for 2 minutes.

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, over the course of the last week, the American people have seen a great deal of discussion in the Chamber about book deals. They have seen partisan posturing and parliamentary tricks designed to slow down if not halt completely the course that we have set out to make the Contract With America the people's agenda.

Mr. Speaker, this is the only book that we should be talking about, the "Contract With America." I was noticing on page 23 of this book that it talks about the balanced budget amendment and the line-item veto.